

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5233

INFO AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MILAN 0244

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IT

SUBJECT: MENAGE A TROIS E DEMI IN MILAN: PSDI COMES ABOARD

1. SUMMARY. LEFTIST MILAN CITY GIUNTA (PSI, PCI AND TWO INDEPENDENT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS) HAS BROADENED ITSELF BY INCLUSION OF PSDI, MOVE OPPOSED BY PSDI ROME HEADQUARTERS BUT APPEALING--FOR DIFFERENT REASONS--TO ALL THREE MAIN MILAN PARTICIPANTS. END SUMMARY.

2. MILAN PSDI JOINED SLIGHTLY RECONSTITUTED CITY GIUNTA FEBRUARY 7, PART OF PACKAGE AGREEMENT THAT CALLS FOR PSDI ENTRY SHORTLY INTO MILAN PROVINCIAL GIUNTA AS WELL. PSDI GOT ONE CITY SEAT (ASSESSORATO) AT PSI EXPENSE AND WILL GET ONE OF PCI'S PROVINCIAL SEATS WHEN THAT CHANGE OCCURS. PCI AND PSI NOW HAVE EIGHT CITY SEATS EACH AND PSDI ONE. GIUNTA ALSO CONTAINS TWO INDEPENDENT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WHO BROKE RANKS TO JOIN. FAR LEFT WING PROLETARIAN DEMOCRATS (DP) BELONG TO RULING MAJORITY BUT NOT TO GIUNTA.

3. OPINIONS DIFFER ON WHO IS DOING WHAT TO WHOM, THOUGH MOST AGREE THAT ALL THREE PRINCIPAL GIUNTA PARTICIPANTS CAME OUT AHEAD. PSDI, FOR EXAMPLE, WHICH DROPPED 1.8 PERCENTAGE POINTS (TO 3.1 PERCENT) IN MILAN PROVINCE IN JUNE

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1976 ELECTIONS AND ARE FACING EXTINCTION, ARE NOW--IN SMALL MEASURE BUT ONE WHICH OVERREPRESENTS THEIR REAL STRENGTH--HELPING RUN CITY OF MILAN. MOVE ALSO GAVE PARTY CHANCE TO KICK SHINS OF FORMER DC ALLIES, WHO ARE ALLEGED TO FORGET OLD FRIENDS WHEN NO LONGER USEFUL. THESE CONSIDERATIONS WERE APPARENTLY ENOUGH TO MOVE MILAN PSDI TO IGNORE DISAPPROVING LETTER FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS. PSDI

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT TOLD MILAN PARTY THAT IT SHOULD NOT GO BEYOND INCLUSION IN MAJORITY (I.E., SHOULD STOP SHORT OF FORMAL ENTRY INTO GIUNTA) SINCE THAT WAS CONTRARY TO PARTY'S NATIONAL POSITION.

4. WHICH OF TWO MAJOR GIUNTA INCUMBENT PARTIES GOT MORE OUT OF GIUNTA ENLARGEMENT NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR. COMMUNISTS, WHO WERE REPORTEDLY WVERY AVID FOR DEAL AND FEARFUL AT LAST MOMENT IT MIGHT FALL THROUGH, CAN NOW CLAIM BROADER PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ADMINISTRATION IN WHICH THEY IN FACT PREDOMINATE (26 COUNCIL SEATS V. 20 FOR DC AND 14 FOR PSI). SEVERAL CONTACTS MADE POINT THAT MOVE ALSO MAKES PCI LESS DEPENDENT ON HELP FROM EXTREME LEFTIST DP WHOSE SUPPORT IN COUNCIL WASNOT NUMERICALLY ESSENTIAL BUT--WITH LEFTIST MAJORITY AS SLIM AS IT WAS--VERY WELCOME. PSI LOMBARDY REGIONAL SECRETARY GABRIELE BACCALINI TOLD US HIS PCI FRIENDS ALSO VIEWED CHANGE AS PART OF THEIR CARROT AND STICK APPROACH TO DC. AS LONG AS DC REFUSES COMMUNIST APPEALS FOR COLLABORATION, DC MUST EXPECT EVERY NOW AND THEN THAT PCI WILL DO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS SOME DAMAGE--LIKE MAKING OFF WITH A FORMER ALLY.

5. PERHAPS ONLY DISSENTER ON WHETHER PSDI INCLUSION GOOD FOR COMMUNISTS WAS PRI FORMER MILAN MAYOR PIETRO BUCALOSSI, LEADER OF PARTY'S ANTI-LA MALFA RIGHT WING. SPEAKING IN CITY COUNCIL, HE SAW PSDI ENTRY AS MOVE AWAY FROM HISTORIC COMPROMISE AND THUS DEFEAT FOR PCI IN NATIONAL POLICY TERMS. OTHER PRI OFFICIALS WERE LESS THAN IMPRESSED WITH BUCALOSSI'S REASONING. PRI MILAN CITY SECRETARY ANTONIO CONFIDENTIAL

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DUVA TOLD US HE FOUND SMALL COMFORT IN PROSPECT PCI MIGHT COME TO POWER VIA LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE FORMULA RATHER THAN HISTORIC COMPROMISE, LIKENING IT TO CHOICE BETWEEN DEATH BY POISONING OR BY DROWNING.

6. PSI, LIKE COMMUNISTS, FAVORED PSDI ENTRY INTO GIUNTA, THOUGH NOT ENTIRELY FOR SAME REASON. MOVE GIVES SOCIALISTS FAIRLY LIKE-MINDED ALLY WHO SHOULD STAND WITH THEM RATHER THAN COMMUNISTS WHEN DISAGREEMENTS OCCUR WITHIN GIUNTA, AND DISAGREEMENTS ARE SAID TO HAVE BECOME MORE FREQUENT OF LATE. SOCIALISTS ARE ALSO HAPPY THAT WEIGHT OF DP WILL BE REDUCED.

7. PSDI MOVE ALSO SEEN AS PRELUDE TO MERGER WITH PSI LOCALLY, FOLLOWING PRECEDENT OF GIANPAOLO PILLITTERI AND HIS MUIS GROUP LAST YEAR. WHILE PILLITTERI SEES MERGER BY REMAINING PSDI LEADERSHIP AS CERTAIN, HE TELLS US THAT BULK OF PSDI RANK AND FILE WILL PROBABLY TURN TO DC.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MILAN 0244

8. PERHAPS MORE CONTENT THAN ANYONE OVER OPERATION IS
MILAN SOCIALIST MAYOR CARLO TOGNOLI. CHANGE--WHOSE
MECHANICS REQUIRED RESIGNATION OF OLD GIUNTA AND APPOINTING
OF NEW--MEANS HE IS NO LONGER PRESIDING OVER GIUNTA INHERITED
FROM PREDECESSOR ALDO ANIASI, WITH WHOM HE IS ANYTHING
BUT CLOSE. GIUNTA IS NOW TOGNOLI GIUNTA. CREATION OF
NEW GIUNTA IS ALL THE MORE SIGNIFICANT, ACCORDING TO PRI
OFFICIAL DUVA, BECAUSE ITS TIMING FOLLOWS CLOSE ON TOGNOLI'S
EFFORTS TO CHANE DIRECTIONS IN SOME AREAS OF CITY ADMINIS-
TRATION. HE WANTS LESS EMPHASIS, FOR EXAMPLE, ON PUBLIC
HOUSING AND MORE ON ELIMINATING CITY DEFICIT WITH MEASURES
LIKE INCREASES INPUBLIC TRANSPORTATION FARES. TOGNOLI
ALSO SAID TO WANT BETTER LEVERAGE INDEALING WITH PCI
GIUNTA PARTNERS, TO WHOM HE IS PRONE TO GIVE IN LESS FRE-
QUENTLY THAN WAS FORMER MAYOR ANIASI.

9. DC HAS GREETED PSDI INCLUSION IN LEFTIST GIUNTA WITH
PREDICATBLE ACCUSATIONS OF PERFIDY.

10. MILAN CHANGE PROBABLY DOES NOT MEAN MUCH AS FAR AS
NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY PICTURE IS CONCERNED. TWO OF
PARTIES--PSI AND PCI--ACTED IN CONSISTENCY WITH NATIONAL PARTY
POLICIES (I.E., MOVOING CLOSER TO EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT
FORMULA) WHILE PSDI DID NOT. IN ANY CASE, MILAN MOVES
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APPEAR MORE DICTATED BY LOCAL NEEDS THAN LARGER DESIGNS. SO NATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF SHIFT ARE PROBABLY NOT GREAT. HOWEVER, IT APPEARS TO BE PART OF PROCESS OF DISAPPEARANCE OF MINOR CENTER PARTIES AND PLARIZATION BETWEEN DC AND LEFT.574717- SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR MILAN, HOWEVER, ARE WORTH NOTING. FIRSTU S THAT LEFT NOW HAS STRONGER HOLD ON CITY THAN BEFORE, AT LEAST FORMALLY, AND DC IS MORE CLEARLY ON OUTSIDE. SECONDLY, THIS STRONGER HOLD MAY MEAN CITY CAN BE GUIDED WITH SOMEWHAT FIRMER--AND MORE MODERATE--HAND. MAYOR TOGNOLI NOW PRESUMABLY HAS BETTER SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO RUN TIGHTER FINANCIAL SHIP, TO STOP GROWTH OF SERVICES, AND TO GO HEAVIER ON PUBLIC ORDER. THESE ARE ALL AREAS WHERE HE HAS BEEN MORE FIRM THAN HIS PRE-DECESSOR AND IN WHICH, THESE DAYS FAIR COOPERATION FROM PCI MIGHT BE EXPECTED. LESSENER DEPENDENCE ONDP OUGHT ALSO TO HELP IN THIS REGARD. THUS, NEW GIUNTA OUGHT TO DO AT LEAST SLIGHTLY BETTER JOB OF RUNNING CITY. THIRD, NEW DEVELOPMENT MARKS KIND OF BEGINNING OF TOGNOLI ERA IN MILAN ADMINISTRATIVE POLITICS. A CONVINCED AUTONOMIST, TOGNOLI CAN BE EXPECTED TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH PCI WHEN PSI AND COMMUNISTS ARE IN AGREEMENT BUT TO STAND HIS GROUND WHEN THEY ARE NOT. HE CAN ALSO BE EXPECTED TO ESPOUSE MODERATE RATHER THAN EXTREME POLICIES, STANCE THAT ALREADY HAS DP MAJORITY MEMBERS UNHAPPY WITH HIS PROGRAM. MUCH IS RIDING LOCALLY ON HIS PERFORMANCE, BOTH WITH REGARD TO PSI AUTONOMY FROM PCI AND WITH REGARD TO PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF SOCIALISTS AS RESPNSIBLE POLITICAL PARTY.FINA

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